Asian Students' Perceptions of 'Good' Citizenship:
The Role of Democratic Values and Attitudes to Traditional Culture

*Xiaoxue Kuang and Kerry J. Kennedy**
Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Hong Kong Institute of Education

Abstract

The concept of 'good' citizenship has been the subject of debate and discussion across the centuries. Researchers have suggested that there are different conceptions of 'good' citizenship among citizens of different countries (Denters, Gabriel, & Mariano, 2007; McBeth, Lybecker, & Garner, 2010; Theiss-Morse, 1993). This paper explores Asian students' perception of 'good' citizenship and important behaviors expected of being a 'good' adult citizen. There are two aspects of 'good' citizenship that will be explored: Conventional citizenship and social-movement-related citizenship. Using data from the International Civic and Citizenship Study (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010), the paper explores the similarities and differences among students in 5 Asian societies (Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Indonesia and Thailand). The results of structural equation modeling (SEM) show that students' perceptions of 'good' citizenship are affected by their attitude to traditional culture and democratic values and these are mediated through students' sense of importance of becoming a 'good' adult citizen. The impact varies among the five countries.

Keywords: good citizenship, citizenship attitudes, structural equation modelling

1. Introduction

1.1 Concepts of Good Citizenship

'Good' citizenship has been argued about for centuries from Aristotle to Alexis de Tocqueville and Walter Bagehot. (Almond, 1980; Walzer, 1989). Kennedy (2010) showed how 'good' citizenship was equally important to scholars and philosophers in the East and the West. There is, however, still no generally acknowledged, uncontested model of 'good' citizenship. Yet the notion of the 'good' citizen is important, not least for the key role it plays in political discourse, when some behaviors are being encouraged and others discouraged. Maybe it is this role which makes scholars wary; 'the strongly normative and often ideologically motivated nature of good citizen does not chime readily with aspirations to analytical neutrality (Pykett, Saward, & Schaefer, 2010).

Sniderman, Fletcher, Russell, and Tetlock (1996) suggested that under the assumption of the pluralism of civic norms, different conceptions of 'good' citizenship can coexist even within the one society. Some scholars focus on three norms to explain citizenship: A traditional elitist model; a liberal model; and a communitarian model. (Conover & Searing, 2002; Denters et al., 2007; Rose & Pettersen, 2002). In the traditional elitist model, the core norm is law-abidingness and loyalty. In liberal model, general virtues like law-abidingness and loyalty should go hand-in-hand with critical and deliberative values. 'Good' citizens are the individuals with rights and freedoms, who respect the rights and freedoms of others while they pursue their interests. (Pykett et al., 2010).

The previous two models focus on the relation of individuals with their government, whereas communitarians emphasize the importance of members of the community towards one another. Voluntary associations are the main sites where communitarians carry out their civic work (Denters et al., 2007). Solidarity, community participation and tolerance are important principles for their 'good' citizenship. Active participation in social life is the core element of 'good' citizenship from the communitarian view. They also stress civic virtues like solidarity and being socially active for the good of the society (Denters et al., 2007; Kymlicka & Wayne, 1995; Walzer, 1989).

Besides the three models outlined above, there are participatory models. As Kymlicka and Norman (1995) proposed, 'civic republicanism is a variant of the participatory model.' They argued that participatory models value participation in itself rather than as a means of civic education. In their view, it is morally superior and more rewarding to play an active role in social and political life rather than restricting oneself to the pursuit of private pleasures (Denters et al., 2007). Sniderman et al. (1996) pointed out it is inevitable that these models will have some overlap in their conceptions of 'good' citizenship. For example, law-abidingness is the common feature of traditional elitists, liberals, and communitarians; and solidarity is shared by the participatory model and communitarians.

* Corresponding Author: Dr. Kerry J. Kennedy (kerryk@ied.edu.hk)
  Professor, Department of Curriculum and Instruction
  Hong Kong Institute of Education

Other scholars have adopted different perspectives but they usually reflect the models referred to above. Haste (2004) suggested the rhetoric of 'responsible' citizen can be used for understanding the concept of the 'good' citizen. Responsibility has three contested meanings. It first may mean a citizen's duty and obligation conforming to social expectations and rules. The second meaning is related to connections which are ties of affect and interdependence, relationship in the family or the wider community. The third meaning derives from a judgment of principle. Ricci (2004) identifies three different understandings of citizenship. When citizenship refers to a person's legal status, the 'good' citizen is the one who obeys the country's laws, defends and preserves the local populace. When citizenship is understood as an active sort of belonging with political participation as its hallmark, the 'good' citizen not only obeys the country's law, but also helps to make them. In his third perspective, the 'good' citizen requires more than the former two, it also requires citizens' virtuous behavior.

Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) described three conceptions of 'good' citizen: Personally responsible, participatory, and justice oriented. Using data from two programs, they found the three conceptions embody significantly different beliefs of the capacities and commitments citizens need for democracy to flourish. Dealing further with norms of American citizenship, Dalton (2008a) suggested that the younger generation is developing its own sense of 'good' citizenship as a result of modernization. The great emphasis is given to engagement rather than duty. Using survey data from the U.S. "Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy" (USCID) survey, they proposed that citizenship norms are shifting from a pattern of duty-based citizenship to engaged citizenship. He suggested the change will also change individuals' view of the 'good' citizen (Dalton, 2008b).

Based on analyzing the notion from the perspective of citizenship 'acts' and 'practices,' Pykett et al. (2010) suggested 'good' citizenship is about what citizens do, rather than who they are. 'Good citizens are made, not born.'

Based on the above analysis, there is no consensus about the concept of the 'good' citizen. Nevertheless, its essence is concerned with equality in terms of value and membership in society, and acknowledgement of both rights and duties (Petersson, Hermansson, Micheletti, Teorell, & Westholm, 1998).

1.2 Research about Good Citizenship

The concept of 'good' citizen/citizenship has been the basis of many studies. As Theiss-Morse (1993) pointed out the qualities of 'good' citizenship have been examined in depth, however, there are only a handful of studies on public understanding of the term. For example, Almond and Verba (1963) asked respondents what obligations people owe their country in five nations and summarized the responses into three categories: Parochial, subject, and participant orientations. They found that in the United States the dominant orientation of citizens is participation.

Lane (1965) found the meaning of 'good' citizenship is varied and ambiguous based on in depth interviews with 15 people. The emphases of their responses varied from extensive participation to obedience to laws to private morality and self-control.

Conover, Crewe, and Searing's (1991) used focus groups to investigate U.S. and British citizens' beliefs about the rights, duties, and identities of citizens. They found that U.S. citizens are more likely to hold liberal self-understandings and British citizens communitarian views.

Using Q method and survey research, Theiss-Morse (1993) proposed 4 types of citizens' perspectives on participatory duties of a good citizen "representative democracy," "political enthusiast," pursued interests" and "indifferent" perspective. Theiss-Morse also indicated that most studies of 'good' citizenship fell into two categories: Pedagogical studies, the best ways of teaching 'good' citizenship and theoretical focuses on its meaning. She criticized the empirical political scientists for producing only a handful of studies analyzing the public's understandings of the concept and called on more empirical work on individuals' understandings of good citizenship. Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, and Carpini (2006) proposed that U.S. citizens' political participation is not in decline but just changing. This seems true especially for the younger generations who are more inclined to be involved in civic activities (volunteering and fundraising, or economic-based engagement, such as boycotting) rather than in traditional political activities. The new type of engaged citizenship is contrasted with the more traditional duty-based view.

Denters et al. (2007) examined the public's views of 'good' citizenship in the West and the East. They presumed that there would be different views reflecting the pluralism of civic norms in modern societies. They identified three factors measured by six items that roughly stand for the theoretically expected sub-dimensions of the idea of 'good' citizenship: Law abidingness, critical and deliberative principles, and solidarity, They came to the conclusion that citizenship is a multifaceted concept which includes the traditional norms of law-abidingness, solidarity, criticism and deliberation. McBeth et al. (2010) demonstrated that duty-based citizenship remains the dominant view among the younger though engaged citizenship may be on the rise. They suggested that "engaged citizens" are more flexible in their perceptions of policies, more participatory, more

global in their orientation, and more committed to social justice than their duty-based counterparts. Taken together, there were differences in citizenship conceptualizations among citizens of different countries, even within one country. The definitions of 'good' citizenship are always changing, and are related to the specific context in which its propositions are made (Pykett et al., 2010). For schools today this is an important understanding Developing 'good' citizens and fostering the growth of civic values is a key concern (Galston, 2001; Kaestle, 2000).

Studies about students' perceptions of citizenship indicate that they perceive 'good' citizens are those who follow rules/laws, voting, helping others, patriotism/loyalty, and respect for others (Alazzi, 2012; Conover & Searing, 2000; Martin & Chiodo, 2005). Kennedy (2010), using a sample of Hong Kong students, found that their perceptions of the 'good' citizen were multidimensional involving conventional acts such as voting, voluntary work such as helping the needy and being patriotic. Neither of these studies, however, explored the factors that may contribute to students' perception of being a 'good' citizen. Using data from the International Civic and Citizenship Study (Schulz et al., 2010), paper will explore Asian students' perceptions of 'good' citizenship and behavior's considered to be important for 'good' adult citizens.

The students' perceptions of democratic values and preservation of traditional culture were chosen as the predictors. Dalton (2000) argued that the democratization wave has transformed the political systems and the citizenry in the new democracies of central and Eastern Europe, East Asia, and elsewhere over the past decade.

However, the congruence between cultural traditions and political structures has been questioned (Dalton, 2000; Putnam, 1993). As Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) study pointed out the proponents of the democratic purposes of education frequently complain they are fighting an uphill battle. Other possibilities are often crowded out due to the priorities of the traditional academic curriculum and the current narrow emphasis on test scores (Cuban & Shipps, 2000; Noddings, 1999). As educators are often interested in the civic purposes of school, they suggested that it is not enough to argue that democratic values are as important as traditional academic priorities. What and how people think will be affected by culture (Oyserman & Lee, 2008) and values. Using student's attitude to democratic values and traditional culture will help to understand their attitude to behaviors that they regard as important for adult citizens.

Structural equation modeling will be used to explore the factors influencing students' perception of adults who are regarded as 'good' citizens. The conceptual model of the present study is presented in Figure 1.

2. Methods

2.1 Data Resources

The data for the present study were retrieved from the data base of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (Schulz et al., 2010) which was conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
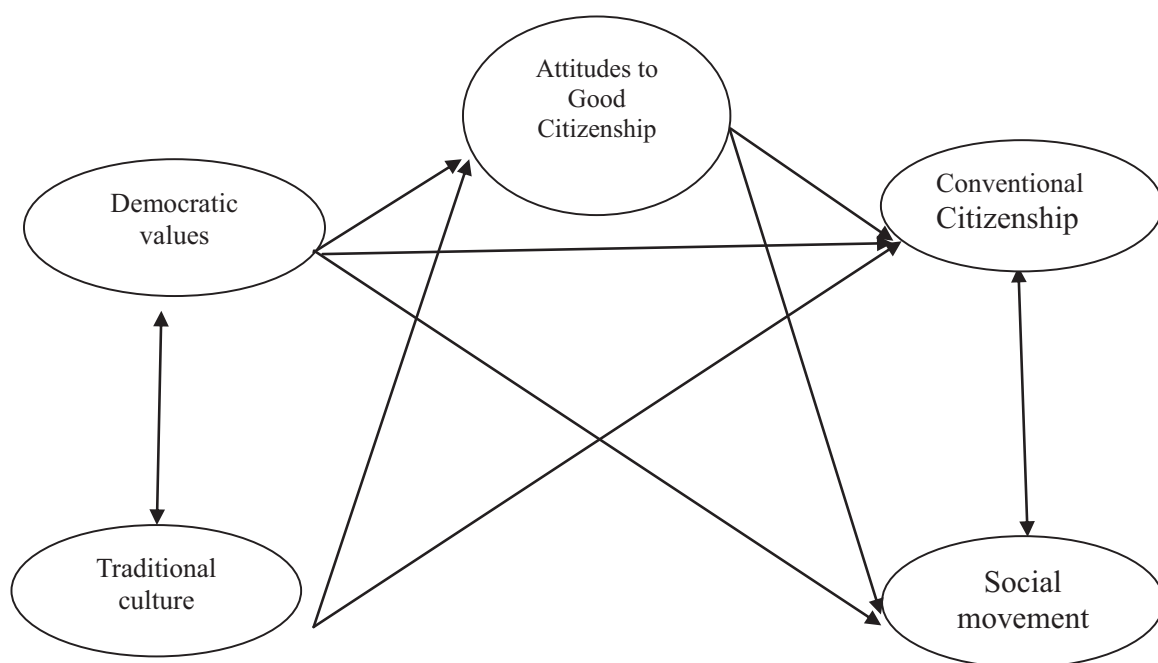

Figure 1 Conceptual Model for Understanding Students. Attitudes to 'Good' Citizenship

2.2 Sample

38 education systems participated in ICCS 2009. For Asia, there were 5 education systems: Hong Kong SAR, Indonesia, Korea, Thailand, and Chinese Taipei. All samples were drawn from grade eight students between the ages of 13 and 14 with the average age 14.3 years (SD = 0.56) (Kennedy, Kuang, & Chow, 2013). Sample sizes were Hong Kong SAR (2,739), Indonesia (5,048), Korea (5,252), Thailand (5,374), and Taiwan (5,152), among them there are 50.6% male students and 49.4% female students.

2.3 Instruments

Two student surveys were conducted: The main international student survey, to which all students responded, and an Asian Regional Module to which students from the 5 Asian societies systems responded. The international student survey asked students about civic values and actions while the regional survey focussed on traditional values and attitudes (Schulz et al., 2010).

Students' perceptions of being a 'good' adult citizen, including the importance of conventional citizenship and social-movement-related citizenship, were measured in the international student survey as well as their democratic value beliefs. Students' perceptions of traditional culture and 'good' citizenship were measured in the regional survey.

2.3.1 Students' Perceptions of Being a 'Good' Adult Citizen

The perceptions of being a 'good' adult citizen were measured by four Likert-type items with a common stem of "How important are the following behaviors for being a good adult citizen?" Example items were "voting in every national election" and "taking part in activities to protect the environment."

There were four response categories: "Very important," "quite important," "not very important," and "not important at all."

2.3.2 Students' Perceptions of Traditional Culture

The scale asked students attitude about the preservation of traditional culture. There were four items with four response categories "strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree." Example item was "I would like to have more opportunities to learn about <country of test>'s traditional culture."

2.3.3 Students' Perceptions of 'Good' Citizenship

The scale contained seven items indicating possible characteristics of 'good' citizenship with four response categories ("strongly agree" to "strongly disagree"). Example item was "A person who obeys the law is a good citizen."

2.3.4 Students' Support for Democratic Values

The scale measured students' beliefs about democratic values with four response categories ("strongly agree" to "strongly disagree"). Example item was "Everyone should always have the right to express their opinions freely."

3. Results

3.1 Descriptive Statistics

3.1 1 Students' Traditional Values Related to 'Good' Citizenship

Students' perceptions of 'good' citizens are shown in Table 1. Across the 5 societies, more than 75 % students

Table1 Percentage of Students Who Strongly Agree and Agree to the Items

	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Korea	Thailand	Chinese Taipei
A person who obeys the law is a good citizen.	74.5	97.7	91.5	97.6	74.4
A person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen.	80.3	72.2	86.2	78.9	80.8
One can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person.	79.1	90.3	62.4	93.8	76.1
Having good morality is more important than having good knowledge for one to be a good citizen.	88.5	76.1	85.5	90.5	91.6
Self-cultivation is an important process of becoming a good citizen.	92.9	94.6	89.3	92.8	93.1
For one to become a good citizen one must have a high quality of spirituality.	86.4	80.8	92.3	94	91.1
Even if a person behaves properly they cannot be a good citizen without a high quality of spirituality.	67.3	76.4	73	86.4	76.3
Mean	3.05	3.16	3.04	3.33	3.11
Sd	0.45	0.36	0.42	0.39	0.47

agreed that a 'good' citizen must have high quality of spirituality, be self-cultivated and they believed having good morality is more important than good knowledge. Most students thought that one can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person in the four societies, except only 62.4% of Korean students endorsed this item. More than 90% of students in Indonesia, Korea and Thailand agreed "a person who obeys the law is a good citizen" while the percentage in Hong Kong and Chinese Taipei was only around 74%. More than 72% of students of the five societies agreed that "a person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen." More than 70% of students agreed "even if a person behaves properly they cannot be a good citizen without a high quality of spirituality" except In Hong Kong the percentage was 67.3%.

The scale's means for each of the five societies are listed in the last two rows of the table. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to test for differences among the five societies. The results showed there were statistically significant differences across societies on the construct (F (4, 23467) = 402.38, p < .000, partial η2 = .064). Korean students registered the lowest level of endorsement while Thailand students endorsed the construct more positively than their peers in East Asia. The post hoc Dunnett's

T3 tests indicated each of the differences between the 9 pair-wise comparisons were statistically significant. The exception was the Hong Kong-Korea pair.

3.1.2 Students' Views about Important Behaviors for Being a 'Good' Adult Citizen

Table 2 shows the results of students' attitudes towards adult citizenship behaviors. For conventional citizenship, more than 75% students in the five societies agreed that "Learning about the country's history" and almost 90% students believed that "following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet" were important behaviors for being an adult citizen except for Indonesia (72.6%). More than 95% of students in Indonesia, Korea and Thailand indicated that "voting in every national election" was an important behavior while the percentages were lower in Chinese Taipei (74.6%) and Hong Kong (85.5%).

More than 80% students of Hong Kong, Indonesia and Thailand agreed "showing respect for government representatives" is an important behaviors, while in Chinese Taipei the percentage was 71.6% and Korea (42.4%) had the lowest percentage. About 80% students of Hong Kong and Chinese Taipei thought "joining a political party" were not important behaviors, while in the other three

Table 2 Percentage of Students Who Strongly Agree and Agree to the Items

		Hong Kong	Indonesia	Korea	Thailand	Chinese Taipei
Conventional citizenship	Voting in every national election	85.5	95.4	96.6	96.9	74.6
	Joining a political party	20.4	53.9	60.9	67	16.6
	Learning about the country's history	78.6	93.8	75	92	78.7
	Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet	89.3	72.6	91.8	90.6	87.2
	Showing respect for government representatives	89	92.5	42.4	82	71.6
	Engaging in political discussions	57	47	75.5	70.5	50.8
	Mean	2.91	3.14	2.96	3.22	2.82
	Sd	0.49	0.39	0.47	0.42	0.52
Social-movement -related citizenship	Participating in peaceful protests against laws believed to be unjust	64.7	78.5	89.9	64.4	63.9
	Participating in activities to benefit people in the local community	84	91	83.4	92.6	88.6
	Taking part in activities promoting human rights	78.4	83.7	83.5	91.9	90.1
	Taking part in activities to protect the environment	88.3	91.4	87.7	94.3	88.4
	Mean	3.06	3.33	3.21	3.34	3.22
	Sd	0.57	0.50	0.58	0.49	0.58

systems, above 50% of the students believed it is important. Almost half of the students thought "engaging in political discussions" is not important in Hong Kong, Chinese Taipei and Indonesia; the percentages were above 70% in Korea and Thailand.

For social-movement-related citizenship, over 80% students thought "participating in activities to benefit people in the local community," "taking part in activities to protect the environment" and "taking part in activities promoting human rights" except Hong Kong (78.4%) were important behaviors for being good adult citizen.

Less than 65% student agreed that "Participating in peaceful protests against laws believed to be unjust" are important behaviors in Hong Kong, Thailand and Chinese Taipei. The percentages were higher in Indonesia (78.5%) and Korea (89.9%).

There were statistically significant differences across societies on the two constructs. The main effect for Social-movement Conventional Citizenship scale was statistically significant indicating there were difference across societies. (F (4, 23404) = 645.849, p < .0001, partial η2 = .099). Students of Chinese Taipei registered the lowest level of endorsement on this construct, while Thailand students endorsed the construct more positively than their peers in East Asia. The post hoc Dunnett's T3 tests indicated that each of the differences between the 10 pair-wise comparisons was statistically significant.

The main effect for Social-movement-related citizenship scale statistically significant indicating there was difference across societies. (F (4, 23362) = 157.572, p < .000, partial η2 = .026). Students of Hong Kong registered the lowest level of endorsement on this construct, while Thail students endorsed the construct more positively than

their peers in East Asia. The post hoc Dunnett's T3 tests indicated that except Indonesia and Thailand, Hong Kong and Chinese Taipei, each of the differences between the 8 pair-wise comparisons statistically significant.

3.3 Effect of Traditional Culture, Democratic Values and Good Citizenship

Results of the SEM analysis indicated that the fit of the model was acceptable. For the five societies, the CFI (Comparative Fit Index) (Bentler, 1990) and TLI (Tucker-Lewis Index) (Tucker & Lewis, 1973) goodness-of-fit indices were more than 0.90, and the RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation) values were all smaller than 0.07 (Table 3). The R-squared of the variables ranged from 0.260 to 0.625 (Table 4).

Table 5 presents the indirect, direct and total effects of independent variables on students' perception of important behaviors for being good adult citizens.

In all five societies, students' perception of traditional culture and democratic values had statistically significant direct effects on students' perception of important behaviors for being 'good' adult citizens (β: 0.175 ~ 0.410, p < 0.0001). It also shows that for Hong Kong (0.296), Indonesia (0.297) and Thailand (0.267), students' perception of democratic values were the strongest predictors for students' perception of the importance of conventional citizenship. While for the total effects, students' attitude to traditional culture was the strongest predictor for conventional citizenship in the four societies except Indonesia (0.245). Democratic values were the strongest predictors for students' perception of importance of Social-movement-related citizenship for all the five societies with total effect range from 0.388 to 0.424.

Table 3 Model Fit of the Five Societies

	CFI	TLI	RMSEA
Hong Kong	0.92	0.91	0.058 (0.057 ~ 0.060)
Indonesia	0.91	0.90	0.048 (0.047 ~ 0.049)
Korea	0.91	0.90	0.063 (0.062 ~ 0.064)
Thailand	0.93	0.92	0.047 (0.046 ~ 0.049)
Chinese Taipei	0.91	0.90	0.067 (0.066 ~ 0.068)

Table 4 R-Squared of the Dependent Variables

Variable	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Korea	Thailand	Chinese Taipei
Good citizenship	0.309 (0.020)	0.589 (0.021)	0.302 (0.016)	0.625 (0.017)	0.315 (0.014)
Conventional citizenship	0.290 (0.020)	0.253 (0.017)	0.260 (0.014)	0.286 (0.016)	0.280 (0.013)
Social-movement -related citizenship	0.288 (0.019)	0.368 (0.019)	0.290 (0.014)	0.421 (0.018)	0.377 (0.015)

Notes: All estimates are standardized and significant at the 0.05 level. Standard errors are presented in parentheses.

'Good' citizenship had statistically significant direct effects on students' perception of important behaviors for being 'good' adult citizens in Hong Kong, Korea and Chinese Taipei (β: 0.104 ~ 0.192, $p < 0.0001$). For students' perception of the importance of Conventional citizenship, 'Good' citizenship had significant positive effects ($p > 0.05$). For Indonesia and Thailand, it had no statistically significant direct effect on students' perception of the importance of Social-movement-related citizenship ($p > 0.05$).

'Good' citizenship had an indirect effect on conventional citizenship via traditional culture and democratic values in the four societies (β: 0.02 ~ 0.09, $p < 0.05$) except democratic value in Indonesia (β: 0.01, $p < 0.05$). It also had an indirect effect on Social-movement citizenship in Hong Kong, Korea and Chinese Taipei.

Table 6 presents the total effects of independent variables on students' perception of the character of 'good' citizenship. It shows for the five societies, students' attitudes to traditional culture are the strongest predictors for 'good' citizenship, with the effect range from 0.368 to 0.695.

4.   Conclusion

This study explored Asian students' perceptions of 'good' citizenship and important behavior's to be a 'good' adult citizen. It also investigated the predictors for behaviors of being a 'good' adult citizen. Most of the students agreed that to be a 'good' citizen, one should obey the law and have good morality and high quality of spirituality. Self-cultivation was also an important element for becoming a 'good' citizen.

Table 5 Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects on Being a Good Adult Citizen

	Predictor	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Korea	Thailand	Chinese Taipei
Conventional citizenship	Democratic values					
	Direct	0.296	0.297	0.188	0.267	0.175
	Indirect	0.02	0.01#	0.04	0.02	0.05
	Total	0.316	0.307	0.228	0.287	0.225
	Traditional Culture					
	Direct	0.243	0.175	0.329	0.256	0.301
	Indirect	0.09	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.08
	Total	0.333	0.245	0.379	0.306	0.381
	Good citizenship					
	Direct	0.174	0.098	0.124	0.085	0.192
	Total	0.174	0.098	0.124	0.085	0.192
Social-movement -related citizenship	Democratic values					
	Direct	0.368	0.410	0.358	0.404	0.364
	Indirect	0.02	0.001#	0.03	0.02#	0.03
	Total	0.388	0.410	0.388	0.424	0.394
	Traditional culture					
	Direct	0.182	0.251	0.212	0.261	0.280
	Indirect	0.08	0.01#	0.04	0.04#	0.06
	Total	0.262	0.261	0.252	0.301	0.340
	Good Citizenship					
	Direct	0.152	0.008#	0.104	0.068#	0.137
	Total	0.152	0.008	0.104	0.068	0.137

Note:
$p > 0.05$, all other β are significant at $p < 0.05$ without note. Traditional culture and democratic values had statistically significant direct effects on students' perception of the character of 'good' citizenship.

Table 6 Total Effect on Good Citizenship

Variable	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Korea	Thailand	Chinese Taipei
Democratic values	0.115	0.107	0.300	0.272	0.242
Traditional culture	0.513	0.695	0.368	0.599	0.431

A growing number of educational programs seek to further democracy by nurturing 'good' citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2002). Yet the definition of 'good' citizen remains elusive. Pyket et al. (2010) propose that "the 'good' citizen is a figure who is 'framed,' or set up, by political and observers alike; framed in the sense of viewed from a certain perspective, and in the different sense of set up for a particular purpose." In the domain of citizenship education, the official framing of the 'good' citizen exist in many forms. However, students may view and act within a political system the way they think 'good' citizens ought to be and act.

Most of the students believed that voting, learning the history of their country, following political issues through media are important behavior of conventional citizenship as well as showing respect for government representatives except in Korea only less than half of the students support this view.

In Hong Kong and Chinese Taipei, around 50% of students agreed engaging in political discussions was important, and around one fifth of the students agreed that joining a political party was an important behavior for social-movement-related citizenship. Whether this reflected most of the students' distrust in political party is worth exploring in the future. In the other three counties, the percentages were more than 50%.

The majority of the students agreed "Taking part in activities promoting human rights, protecting the environment and benefit people in their local community" were important for social-movement-related citizenship. Over 60% students' agreed that "Participating in peaceful protests against laws believed to be unjust" in the five societies.

An overall pattern of variation across the constructs and societies was that Thailand and Indonesian students tended to endorse the constructs more strongly than did students from Korea, Hong Kong and Chinese Taipei. Some caution needs to be exercised with such a generalization since the large sample sizes mean that the smallest changes will register as significant and effect sizes were weak.

Students' attitude to democratic values and traditional culture were identified as significant direct predictors in all the five societies. Students' perception of the possible characteristics of 'good' citizenship was also predictor for students' perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship in the five societies and the social-movement-related citizenship in Hong Kong, Korea and Chinese Taipei. Democratic values and especially the traditional culture had a strong effect on students' perceptions of the possible characteristics of 'good' citizenship.

The results of the present study have implications for civics and citizenship education since fostering 'good' citizen is one of the goals of education. The democratic values scale measured students' support for democratic values and it had the strongest positive relationship with the behaviors of being adult 'good' citizens. The scale of traditional culture is about students' attitude toward the preservation of traditional culture which was the strongest predictors for student's perception of the possible characteristics of 'good' citizenship and conventional citizenship.

The present study only chose democratic values and traditional culture as the possible factors influencing perceptions of adults who are 'good' citizens. Further study, should consider more factors that may affect students' perception of being 'good' adult citizens. The importance of traditional culture and values and how these sit alongside democratic values is an important area for future research. Pykett et al. (2010) have indicated that given the plurality of conceptions of the 'good' citizen, cross-contextual ways are needed by which to judge varied claims about the capacities, behaviors and attitudes of 'good' citizens. In the future, samples of students from Europe and Latin America can be analyzed for different cultural and social groups' comparison, which can make an important contribution to both political and civic studies.

Recognition of the Funding Source

References

Alazzi, K. K. (2012). Students perceptions of good citizenship: A study of middle and high school students in Jordan. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, *31*, 223-230.

Almond, G. A. (1980). The intellectual history of the civic culture concept. In G. A. Almond & S. Verba (Eds.), *The civic culture revisited* (pp. 1-36). Boston, MA: Little, Brown.

Almond, G. A., & Verba, S. (1963). The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bentler, P. M. (1990). Comparative fit indexes in structural models. *Psychological Bulletin*, *107*, 238-246.

Conover, P. J., Crewe, I. M., & Searing, D. D. (1991). The nature of citizenship in the United States and Great Britain: Empirical comments on theoretical themes. *The Journal of Politics*, *53*, 800-832.

Conover, P. J., & Searing, D. D. (2000). A political socialization perspective. In L. McDonnell, P. M. Timpane, & R. W. Benjamin (Eds.), *Rediscovering the democratic purposes of education* (pp. 91-124). Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.

Conover, P. J., & Searing, D. D. (2002). Expanding the envelope: Citizenship, contextual methodologies, and comparative political psychology. In J. H. Kuklinski (Ed.), *Thinking about political psychology* (pp. 89-114). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Cuban, L., & Shipps, D. (2000). *Reconstructing the common good in education: Coping with intractable American dilemmas*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Dalton, R. J. (2000). Citizen attitudes and political behavior. *Comparative Political Studies*, *33*, 912-940.

Dalton, R. J. (2008a) *The good citizen: How a younger generation is reshaping American politics*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Dalton, R. J. (2008b). Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies*, *56*: 76-98.

Denters, B., Gabriel, O., & Torcal, M. (2007). Norms of good citizenship. In J. W. van Deth, J. R. Montero, & A. Westholm (Eds.), *Citizenship and involvement in European democracies. A comparative analysis* (pp. 88-108). New York, NY: Routledge.

Galston, W. A. (2001). Political knowledge, political engagement, and civic education. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *4*, 217-234.

Haste, H. (2004). Constructing the citizen. *Political Psychology*, *25*, 413-439.

Kaestle, C. F. (2000). Toward a political economy of citizenship: Historical perspectives on the purposes of common schools. In L. McDonnell, P. M. Timpane, & R. W. Benjamin (Eds.), *Rediscovering the democratic purposes of education* (pp. 47-72). Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.

Kennedy, K. J. (2010). Young citizens in Hong Kong: Obedient, active and patriotic? *Social Psychology of Education*, *13*, 111-127.

Kennedy, K. J., Kuang, X., & Chow, J. K. F. (2013). Exploring Asian students' citizenship values and their relationship to civic knowledge and school participation. *Educational Psychology*, *33*, 240-261.

Kymlicka, W., & Norman, W. (1994). Return of the citizen: A survey of recent work on citizenship theory. *Ethics*, *104*, 352-381.

Kymlicka, W., & Wayne, N. (1995). Return of the citizen: A survey of recent work on citizenship theory. In Theorizing Citizenship. (Ed.), *Ronald beiner* (pp. 283-322). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Lane, R. E. (1965). The tense citizen and the casual patriot: Role confusion in American politics. *The Journal of Politics*, *27*, 735-760.

Martin, L. A., & Chiodo, J. J. (2007). Good citizenship: What students in rural schools have to say about it. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *35*(1), 112-134.

McBeth, M. K., Lybecker, D. L., & Garner, K. A. (2010). The story of good citizenship: Framing public policy in the context of duty-based versus engaged citizenship. *Politics & Policy*, *38*, 1-23.

Noddings, N. (1999). Renewing democracy in schools. *Phi Delta Kappan*, *80*, 579-583.

Oliver, D., & Heater, D. B. (1994). *The foundations of citizenship*. Hemel Hempstead, UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Oyserman, D., & Lee, S. W. (2008). Does culture influence what and how we think? Effects of priming individualism and collectivism. *Psychological Bulletin*, *134*, 311-342.

Petersson, O., Hermansson, J., Micheletti, M., Teorell, J., & Westholm, A. (1998). *Demokrati och Medborgarskap. Demokratiradets Rapport 1998*. Stockholm, Sweden: SNS Förlag.

Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Pykett, J., Saward, M., & Schaefer, A. (2010). Framing the good citizen. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *12*, 523-538.

Ricci, D. M. (2004). *Good citizenship in America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Rose, L. E., & Pettersen, P. A. (2002). The good citizen: Democratic theory and political realities among Norwegians. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Kerr, D., & Losito, B. (2010). *Initial findings from the IEA international civic and citizenship education study*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: IEA.

Sniderman, P. M., Fletcher, J., Russell, P., & Tetlock, P. (1996). *The clash of rights: Liberty, equality and legitimacy in pluralist democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Theiss-Morse, E. (1993). Conceptualizations of good citizenship and political participation. *Political Behavior*, *15*, 355-380.

Tucker, L. R., & Lewis, C. (1973). A reliability coefficient for maximum likelihood factor analysis. *Psychometrika*, *38*, 1-10.

Walzer, M. (1989). Citizenship. In T. Ball, J. Farr, & R. L. Hanson (Eds.), *Political innovation and conceptual*

change (pp. 211-219). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2002). Educating the "good" citizen: The politics of school-based civic education programs. Retrieved May 20, 2014, from http://www.eric.ed.gov/contentdelivery/servlet/ERICServlet?accno=ED474166

Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *41*, 237-269.

Zukin, C., Keeter, S., Andolina, M., Jenkins, K., & Carpini, M. X. D. (2006). *A new engagement? Political participation, civic life, and the changing American citizen*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.